MOTION FOR ELECTION TO THE COFFEE BOARD

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY (SHRI RAJIV PRATAP RUDI): Madam, I move the following Motion: -

> "That in pursuance of Clause (b) of sub-section (2) of section 4 of the Coffee Act, 1942 (vii of 1942), read with sub-rule (1) of rule 4 of the Coffee Rules, 1955, this House do proceed to elect, in such manner as the Chairman may direct, one Member from among the Members of the House to be a Member of the Coffee Board to fill up the vacancy which will be arising therein *w.e.f.* April, 13, 2003 consequent on the expiry of the term of Shri H. K. Javare Gowda in the Coffee Board."

The question was put and the motbn was adopted

MATTER RAISED WITH PERMISSION OF THE CHAIR

Need for a statement from the Prime Minister on the latest situation on Iraq

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE (West Bengal): Madam, with your permission, I would like to draw the attention of the House to an important matter. Yesterday, we drew the attention of the Government to the statement of the Prime Minister on the situation in Iraq. Since the Budget session of the Parliament began, the Prime Minister did not make any statement on the situation developing in Iraq, except making some cursory references while replying to the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address. On the whole issue, the country has not learnt anything from the Prime Minister through the floor of the House. To my mind, Madam, this is an unusual situation. We do appreciate that the Prime Minister invites the leaders of the opposition parties and shares his concern with them. We fully appreciate it. At the same time, we do expect that the Prime Minister would take this House and the other House into confidence and explain the position of the Government, express the concern of one hundred crores of people whom he is representing because this is a matter on which each and every one of us is concerned, not only because a large number of people are staying there but also because of the very fact that just a

decade ago, when the Gulf crisis arose, what a terrible price the country had to pay in terms of balance of payments. Our foreign exchange reserves came down to just a month's requirement. According to some statistics, if the war continues for more than two weeks, the oil prices may go up to $36 to $40 per barrel.

Keeping all these objectives in view, we requested for a statement by the Prime Minister. I was glad - I do not know whether I had the wrong impression - that the hon. Minister of Parliamentary Affairs intervened and pointed out that it is not correct that the Prime Minister will not make any statement. Yesterday, she pointed out that the Prime Minister was meeting the leaders of the opposition parties and after that he will come and make a statement on the floor of this House. If the Government wants to retract its position from there, the Government is entitled to do so. But when the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs gives some sort of assurance - at least, I took it as assurance from the hon. Minister of Parliamentary Affairs -- I think, the whole Government is giving that assurance, because this House communicates either through the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs, or, through the Leader of the House. Therefore, in the fitness of the things, if the Government finds that they will not make any statement, it should have been proper on the part of the Government to inform the House that the Government is not going to make any statement. We read in the newspaper that the Prime Minister had conversation and discussion with the American President, George Bush and the House has no right to know that from the Prime Minister.

It is true that we debated and discussed the whole issue on a Private Members' Resolution on last Friday. The hon. Minister of External Affairs responded to the debate and there is no doubt that many of my colleagues have expressed their satisfaction on the way he responded to the issue. But, apart from that, is it not incumbent on the Prime Minister -who is the leader of the nation, who is the leader of the country - to take both the Houses into confidence and share his concern, express his views and the decision?

Madam, on this matter, there is a broad unanimity as I remember, when I raised this issue, even some of the supporters of the ruling party -Mr. Virumbi and some others - joined me in expressing the concern. Therefore, most respectfully, I would like to submit, through you, to the

Government to let the Prime Minister come and make a statement. The country expects that on this occasion the Prime Minister would rise and fulfil the expectations and aspirations of the people of the country. What they are saying in the United Nations, we appreciate that. What the Minister of External Affairs replied to the Private Members' Resolution, we appreciate that also. But that is not a substitute of the Prime Minister taking the House into confidence. The All-Party meeting is no substitute of taking the Parliament into confidence and the Prime Minister making a statement on the floor of this House. Therefore, most respectfully, I would like to submit, through you, that the Government should ensure the Prime Minister comes and makes a statement. There may be many sensitive issues that will come up like whether we will allow the airplanes, the warplanes to be fuelled on the Indian soil, whether the Indian soil will be used or not -- all these issues will come up when the war actually breaks out on the 17". The Parliament will not be in session during those days, because on the 13" the first phase of the session is going to be over.

At least, I do not expect from the most outstanding Parliamentarian of this country, when he leads the nation, that on the whole issue, during the entire session, the Prime Minister will not speak on the floor of this House or the other House on the Iraq situation, a crisis which is evolving in West Asia.

Thank you for giving me this opportunity.

SHRI JIBON ROY (West Bengal): Madam. I want to say something. *...interruptions.)...*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I will allow you. Let the Minister explain as to what happened yesterday, because I have to find out what the stand of the Government is.

स्वास्थ्य और परिवार कल्याण मंत्री तथा संसदीय कार्य मंत्री (श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज): उपसभापति महोदया, किसी भी एक मुद्दे पर विपक्ष प्रधान मंत्री जी के बयान की मांग करे, यह उनका अधिकार है। अपनी प्रारंभिक बात में प्रणब जी ने केवल उस अधिकार का उल्लेख किया,लेकिन उस के बाद उन्होनें कहा कि कल संसदीय कार्य मंत्री ने यहां यह आश्वासन दिया था कि प्रधान मंत्री जी आएंगे और बात रखेगे। उन्होंने कहा कि If now the Government wants to retract, then I cannot say anything, मुझे बहुत खुशी है कि आप स्वयं उस समय चैयर पर थी जब यह पूरी घटना घटी। मैडम, मै कल की प्रोसीडिग्स साथ लायी हूं। आप ने

मुझ से कहा, जब ये सारी चीज हो गयी, "सुषमा जी they want a *suo moto* statement from the Prime Minister". यह आप के शब्द है। फिर मैं ने-"मैडम जैसे मैं ने अभी कहा कि आज शाम को तय होगा, तो मै अभी कैसे कह सकती हूं कि सुओ मोटो स्टेटमेंट होगा या क्या होगा। सर्वदलीय बैठक है, उस में सभी नेता आएंगे, उस में से जो मत निकलेगा। क्या निकलेगा, इस को मै अभी से कैसे कह दूं"। यह मेरा जवाब है, उस के बाद, सारी चर्चा के बाद डिप्टी चैयरमेन महोदया, आप की तरफ से एक डायरेक्शन गवर्नमेंट को है जो कि इसी सदन में दी गयी। मै पढकर सुनाती हूं। जहां तक यह है कि हमारी तरफ के लोगों ने भी कहा, तो विरुम्भी जी का भी यहां बयान है जिस में उन्होंने पार्लियामेंटरी अफेयर्स मिनिस्टर को आने के लिए कहा। लेकिन मै केवल आप की डायरेक्शन,जहां यह बात समाप्त हुई, दे रही हूं।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We agree that it is a matter concerning the Indians working in the Gulf, their safety and security. I am sure the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs ..... *(Interruptions.)...*

SHRI JANARDHANA POOJARY (Karnataka) : Is it not a serious matter? We want to know whether the Prime Minister is going to make a statement or not. *...(Interruptions.)...*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Let her read it out. *...{Interruptions.)...*

SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ: Madam, I am only reproducing what you had said yesterday. *...(Interruptbns.)...*

SHRI JIBON ROY: This is not a matter concerning only the ruling party and the opposition parties. *...[Interruptions.)...* It is a serious matter. The whole world is concerned about it. *...(Interruptions.)...*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The Parliamentary Affairs Minister was referred to by Shri Pranab Mukherjee. She is only giving her explanation. I have identified her. *...(Interruptbns.)...*

SHRI JIBON ROY: The Government should take the Opposition into confidence. *...(Interruptbns.)...*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Jibon Roy, I had identified her. She is in her right as the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs to reply to any query made in the House. *...(Interruptbns.)...* Let us follow the procedure. She has not even completed. Let her complete. *...(Interruptbns.)...* आप बैठ जाइए, यह सब करने से कोई फायदा नही है। We all are concerned about it. Let me handle it. *...(Interruptbns.)...*

SHRI K. NATWAR SINGH (Rajasthan) : Will the Minister yield? *...(Interruptions.)...*

SHRI JIBON ROY: It is not a matter concerning only the ruling party and the opposition parties. It is a national issue.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Jibon Roy, that is why I had said that it was a national issue. We are all concerned about it. But let me know as to what the Government wants to do. I have no way to find out what the Government wants to do. They have not communicated to me. *...interruptions.)...*

SHRI K. NATWAR SINGH: Madam, I am requesting the hon. Minister to yield for a moment. Will the Minister yield?

SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ: Let me first complete. Why don't you allow me to complete first?

SHRI K. NATWAR SINGH: This is not a technical matter. You are going into the technicalities.

SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ: I am not going into the technicalities.

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE: If the hon. Minister says that she had not given any assurance, I accept it. I accept that she had not given any assurance. I am accepting it. (Interruptions). But I have mentioned that this was the impression which I had got. If she says that I had got a wrong impression, I am ready to accept that I had got a wrong impression. But it does not mean that the Prime Minister will not make a statement. Madam, I am accepting that she did not give an assurance. But it does not mean that the Prime Minister can avoid this House. *[...(Interruptions.)...*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Let me find out as to what is the Government's thinking. *...(Interruptions.)...* Let her complete.

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE: Madam, this is a very peculiar way of misleading the House. I am accepting that she did not give an assurance. I am correcting myself. But I want to know whether the Prime Minister is going to make a statement or not. *...{Interruptions.)...*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Let me find out. If you all sit down, I can find out.

SHRI JIBON ROY: We want an answer from the Government... *(Interruptions.)...*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Jibon Roy, I have no way to find out what she wants to say. I have to know what is the stand of the Government. Only then, I can give a ruling on it. You don't want to know it, but I want to know. Chair has the right to know what the stand of the Government is. Let me listen to what she says...*(Interruptions.)...*

श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज : मैडम, मुझे खुशी है, **...(व्यवधान)...**

उपसभापति : आप बता दीजिए, क्या कहना है आपको?

श्रीमति सुषमा स्वराज : मैडम, मैं पहले तो यह कहती हूं कि मैं आग्र्यु नही कर रही हूं क्यो कि यह बात कही गई थी कि मैंने आश्वासन दिया है और मैं आश्वासन से दूर जा रही हूं। इसमें मैंने कहा **...(व्यवधान)...**

SHRI JIBON ROY: Let the Government tell the nation its stand on the matter of Iraq. This House ought to pass a Resolution... *...(Interruptions.)...* It is not a matter of this side or that side... *(Interruptions.)...*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Jibon Roy, please...*(Interruptions.)....* बैठ जाइए। बैठ जाइए। **...(व्यवधान)...** I want to find out...*(Interruptions.)...* It is not necessary that everybody has to get up. I have noticed that...*(Interruptions.)...* Let me find out, now I have the right to find out...*(Interruptions.)...* Please, Mr. Natwar Singh, I am not allowing. Nothing is going on record...*(Interruptions.)...* I do not understand if the House wants to know whether the Prime Minister is coming or not, I want to know. *..(Interruptions.)...*

उपसभापति : जी, बोलिए। प्रधानमंत्री जी आ रहे हैं क्या? **...(व्यवधान)...** हां,बोलिए।

श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज : मैडम, मैं केवल यह कहना चाह रही हूं कि कल जो आपको डायरेक्शन आई है **...(व्यवधान)...**

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Let me find out. I won't allow...*{Interruptions.)...* I also want to know w *A* the Government's stand is. It is most unfair that you are not letting me know what she wants to say. She is addressing the Chair, not *you...{Interruptions.)...* I want to find out whether the Prime Minister is coming or not...*{Interruptions.)...*

श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज : एक मिनट, आप रुकिए। मैं आपकी ही बात कर रही हूं। आप बैठिए तो, सुनिए तो। **...(व्यवधान)...**

विदेश मंत्री (श्री यशवंत सिन्हा) : क्या प्रधानमंत्री जी स्टेटमेट देंगे, यह भी नहीं सुनेगे। **...(व्यवधान)...**

श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज : मैडम, माननीय सदस्य बोलने दे तो मैं इनकी ही बात कह रही हूं। **...(व्यवधान)...** मैं इनकी बात कह रही हूं। **...(व्यवधान)...**

उपसभापति : सिन्हा जी, आप बोलने वाले हैं। **...(व्यवधान)...**

श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज : मैडम, मैं इनकी बात कह रही हूं, अगर सुनें तो। **...(व्यवधान)...**

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: If you are not prepared to listen about Iraq, then, I will go ahead and ask Dr. Manmohan Singh to start the discussion on the Budget because we should not waste the time *...{Interruptions.)...*

SHRI JIBON ROY: Madam, we want to know...*{Interruptions.)...*

श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज : मैं आप ही की बात कह रही हूं, आप सुने तो। **...(व्यवधान)...**

THE LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION (DR. MANMOHAN SINGH): Madam, *...{Interruptions.)...*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Let me hear what the Leader of the Opposition wants to say *...{Interruptions.)...* You didn't allow the Minister to speak. At least allow the Leader of the Opposition.

श्रीमति सुषमा स्वराज : मैडम, मैं केवल एक वाक्य कहूंगी। **...(व्यवधान)...** मैं आप ही की बात कह रही हूं। **...(व्यवधान)...** सर, आप बैठे तो, मैं एक मिनट में ही खत्म कर दूंगी। **...(व्यवधान)...** मेरा उनसे अनुरोध है कि मेरा एक वाक्य तो पूरा होने दीजिए। **...(व्यवधान)...**

उपसभापति : इन्हें मेरी बात का जवाब देने का तोल मौका दीजिए। ...(**व्यवधान**)... आप बैठेंगे तो ही जवाब देंगी न। ...(**व्यवधान**)... Mr. Pachouri, please sit down. *...(Interruptions.)...*

श्रीमति सुषमा स्वराज : आप कृपया घड़ी देखकर केवल एक मिनट के लिए चुप हो जाएं। मैं आपकी ही बात का जवाब दे रही हूं। उपसभापति महोदया, कल की आपकी डायरेक्शन में आपने कहा था ... (**व्यवधान**)... आप लोग मेरी बात तो सुनिए। ...(**व्यवधान**)... यह भूमिका नहीं सुन सकते क्या? ...(**व्यवधान**)... यह वाक्य कहकर मैं आगे जो कहना चाहती हूं वह नहीं सुनेंगे क्या? ...(**व्यवधान**)... मैं आपकी ही बात कह रही हूं। ...(**व्यवधान**)... मैं कल का वाक्य भी नहीं कह सकती क्या?...(**व्यवधान**)...

SHRI C. RAMACHANDRAIAH (Andhra Pradesh) : Without any issue, this fuss is being made...*(Interruptions.)...*

SHRI S; VIDUTHALAI VIRUMBI (Tamil Nadu) : Let the Minister make her point...*(Interruptions.)...*

उपसभापति : प्लीज, मुझे बताइए कि मिनिस्टर आफ ऐक्सटरनल अफेयर्स बोलने वाले हैं या प्राइम मिनिस्टर बोलने वाले हैं? ...(**व्यवधान**)...

श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज : मैं वही बताना चाहती हूं, मुझे ये लोग एक वाक्य पूरा तो करने दें। महोदया, कल आपने यह कहा था कि प्रधान मंत्री यहां आएं या कंसर्न्ड मिनिस्टर आ जाएं। इसलिए मैं आज विदेश मंत्री जी को लेकर आई हूं लेकिन अब मुझे पता चला ...(**व्यवधान**)...

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE : She should simply say whether the Prime Minister is going to come or *not...(Interruptions.)...* If this be the attitude of the Parliamentary Affairs Minister, then, it would be extremely difficult to deal with *her...(Interruptions.)...* I am putting a simple question: Is the Prime Minister coming or not?

SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ : I will answer that. But, please listen to me. मैं एक वाक्य में यह कहना चाह रही हूं कि क्योंकि आपकी डायरेक्शन थी कि प्राइम मिनिस्टर या कंसर्न्ड मिनिस्टर आएं और इसलिए मैं विदेश मत्री को लाई, लेकिन आज यहां पता चला कि माननीय सदस्य प्राइम मिनिस्टर को चाहते हैं। इसलिए मैंने प्रधान मंत्री जी को मैसेज भेज दिया है ...(**व्यवधान**)... वाक्य भी नहीं पूरा होने देते आप। ...(**व्यवधान**)...

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE: We wanted the Prime Minister...*(Interruptions.)...* We are not going to listen to the External Affairs Minister... *(Interruptions.)...*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: If you all shout like this, then, I cannot hear anything...*(Interruptbns.)...*

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE: The Leader of the House should say something on this. *...{Interruptions.)...*

श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज : प्रधान मंत्री आ जाएंगे, यही तो कह रही हूं। **...(व्यवधान)...** उपसभापति महोदया, मुझे यहां पर आकर पता चला। अभी प्रणव मुखर्जी साहब ने यह बात उठाई कि प्रधानमंत्री जी चाहिए। मैं आपको यही बता रही हूं कि मैं आपके कारण विदेश मंत्री जी को लाई थी। लेकिन आज प्रणब जी ने यह कहा है कि हमें प्रधानमंत्री जी चाहिए तो मैंने प्रधानमंत्री जी को मैसेज करवा दिया है। मैं उनकी सुविधा पता करवा रही हूं, जैसे ही उनकी सुविधा पता चलेगी कि इतने बजे प्रधानमंत्री जी आकर बोलेंगे, तो उतने बजे प्रधानमंत्री जी यहां आ जायेंगे। **...(व्यवधान)...**

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, it is over. *...(Interruptbns.)...* Now, the matter is settled. The Prime Minister will come... *...{Interruptions.)...*

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE: You have said that the Prime Minister will come, and with this information, we request you now to resume the debate on the Budget. *...(Interruptions.)...*

SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ: Yes, Prime Minister will come. उपसभापति महोदया, मैं उनकी सुविधा पता कर रही हूं कि उनको कितने बजे यहां आने में सुविधा है। **...(व्यवधान)...** मैंने इसीलिए शुरु में ही कहा था कि इनका अधिकार है प्रधानमंत्री जी से बयान मांगने का। लेकिन आपकी डायरेक्शन के मुताबिक मैं विदेश मंत्री जी को बुलाकर लाई थी। अब आपकी इच्छा है कि प्रधानमंत्री जी चाहिए, प्रधान मंत्री जी यहां आयें। मैंने उनको मैसेज करवा दिया है, उनकी सुविधा पता करा रही हूं। जब उनको सुविधा होगी, वे आ जायेंगे। **...(व्यवधान)...** इतनी सी बात आप मुझे कहने नहीं दे रहे हैं। **...(व्यवधान)...**

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, the matter is closed. अब आप बैठ जाइये।

प्रो. राम देव भंडारी (बिहार) : आप लास्ट लाइन को फर्स्ट लाइन में बोल देती तो अच्छा रहता। **...(व्यवधान)...**

श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज : डिप्टी चेयरमैं की डायरेक्शन का पालन करना जरुरी है। इसीलिए तो मैं विदेश मंत्री जी को यहां लेकर के आई हूं। **...(व्यवधान)...**

श्री मोती लाल वोरा (**छत्तीसगढ**) : उपसभापति महोदया, सुविधा का क्या मतलब है? **...(व्यवधान)...**

उपसभापति : आप बैठिए। आप बैठिए। आप बैठ जाइये।*(Interruptions.)...* Now, just one minute please. *...{Interruptions.)...Now,* it is over. The matter is closed. The Minister has said that she is finding out the convenience of the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister will come and give a statement on Iraq, whichever way he likes. What she has said, as.I understood it in all the din, is that the External Affairs Minister has come to make the statement, but the House wants the Prime Minister...(Interruptions) Now, let the Minister find out when it will be convenient for the Prime Minister... *(Interruptions.)...* अच्छ अब आप मेरी बात में भी दखल दे रहे हैं।

SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ: This is what I was saying.

SHRI MOTILAL VORA: This is a vague statement. *...{Interruptions.)...*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No, it is not a vague statement. *...{Jnterruptbns.)..* देखिए ऐसा है। This is always being done. Every time, it is the convenience of the Prime Minister; this is not for the first time, the first Prime Minister or the second Prime Minister. After all, what was my direction? Either the Prime Minister, or his nominee, should come, because it is the collective responsibility of the Council of Ministers. She was trying to say that. *...(Interruptions.)...* No need to clap. I always say that and I have been saying this, year after year, and Session after Session; whichever Prime Minister it is, it does not matter to me. If the House wants that the Prime Minister should come, then, we will have to find out time for him.

In the meanwhile, we have the Leader of the Opposition to speak on the Budget. So, we will take up the discussion on the General Budget. *...(Interruptions.)...*

श्रीमती सरला माहेश्वरी (**पश्चिमी बंगाल**) : मैडम, **...(व्यवधान)...**

उपसभापति : अभी कुछ नहीं। अभी एक हंगामा खत्म हुआ है and you want to create another one. Mr. Jibon Roy, do you want to take the floor? I know that you take the permission of the Chair to say something and you do not take 'anybody's permission to shout in the House. *...(jnterruptbns.)...*

श्रीमती सरला माहेश्वरी : मैडम, मैं हंगामा नहीं कर रही हूं। ...(**व्यवधान**)...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I will allo\V you only on one condition that he is not going to interfere. *...(Interruptions.)...*

श्रीमती सरला माहेश्वरी : मैडम, मुझे केवल एक मिनट का समय बोलने के लिए दे दीजिए।

उपसभापति : ठीक है। आप बोलिए।

NEED TO PREVENT SOIL EROSION CAUSED BY THE GANGA-PADMA RIVERS IN WEST BENGAL

श्रीमती सरला माहेश्वरी (**पश्चिमी बंगाल**) : मैडम, मैं सरकार का ध्यान दिलाना चाहती हूं कि आज पश्चिमी बंगाल की जनता का प्रतिनिधि मंडल, बहुत बड़ी संख्या में विधायक और सांसद आये हुए हैं। गंगा-पदमा नदी के कटाव की जो समस्या है, वह एक राष्ट्रीय समस्या का रुप लेती जा रही है। लेकिन सरकार इस ओर कोई ध्यान नहीं दे रही है। इसलिए उपसभापति महोदया, मैं आपके माध्यम से सरकार का ध्यान आकृष्ट करते हुए कहना चाहती हूं कि सरकार इस समस्या को राष्ट्रीय समस्या के रुप में समझते हुए, इस समस्या के निदान के लिए कमेटी ने जो अनुशंसाएं की हैं, उन अनुशंसाओं पर ध्यान दें और इस समस्या का निदान करें। धन्यवाद।

THE BUDGET (GENERAL), 2003-04

DR. MANMOHAN SINGH (Assam): Madam, the Budget of the Union Government is a major document because it conveys to this House, to this Parliament and to the counfry at large, the direction in which the Government would like our country to move in the year that lies ahead.

Madam, Central to wha.t we are planning for the future is a realistic appreciation of the current state of the economy. The hon. Finance Minister was good enough to present to us a Mid-Year Review of the economy. Subsequently, we have the Economic Survey before us. The picture that emerges from both these documents in a medium term perspective is that our economy is performing far tjelow its potential, and this is more so in the